1: Karsten--88 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 302 (1928-29)

"In their outward appearance the JIBARO men attract special attention by their long hair. It is tended with great care and not seldom reaches down to the waist, being generally--that is to say, when the Indian is not, for one reason or another, compelled to observe ceremonial abstinence--divided into three pig-tails, one big one hanging down from the back, called itsímgama, and two smaller ones at each temple called akahiki. Very frequently a comb of Indian manufacture is stuck in the hair on the back of their heads, being regarded at the same time as an ornament and as a magical amulet."

1: Karsten--164 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
302 (1928-29)

"Whether the hunting expedition is undertaken for a feast or not, the Canelos Indian never omits to paint his face red with roucou before starting. The red paint is supposed to attract animals and birds, and thus to give good luck in hunting. For this reason even the dogs used for hunting are painted before leaving, the fell being profusely coated with crude roucou. The Canelos Indian says that if he does not paint himself with roucou before going to hunt, he will be unable to kill any game."

1: Karsten--167 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
302 (1928-29)

"...although the Jibaro Indian never fails to paint his face and his body with roucou before starting on a journey through the forest or a voyage on the river, believing that the body-painting will give him strength, he does not do it especially with the idea that it will attract the game."

1: Karsten--214-215
116, 832, 302, 824

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"Various love charms are used by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, and naturally more frequently by the men than by the women. These love charms are obtained partly from the plant world, partly from the animal kingdom. Among the former, an important role is played by a small plant which among the Ecuadorian Indians is best known under its Quichua name simayuca, of which the Jibaro name simaika is but a corruption. Under this name at least two varieties are included: the one is smaller and specially cultivated by the Indians, the other grows wild, but both, and especially the former, are used as love charms. The smaller is probably a Peperomia species; it is found in the forests of Western Ecuador also and is by the Colorado and the Cayapa Indians used exactly in the same way as by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The plant is used in different ways as a love charm; any part of it is believed to have a wonderful power of exciting the sexual passions of the opposite sex when it is brought into some contact with his or her body. It is enough to take one of the small leaves, fold it up and rub a girl with it on the arm: the girl will instantly be filled with love for the young man doing so. More commonly, however, the charm is prepared in the following way. The whole plant is dried in the sun, whereupon it is pulverized and mixed with the red seeds of the roucou (Bixa orellana). When preparing this charm the Indian has to fast one day; otherwise the charm would be quite ineffective. The red powder is put in a small round gourd and carried in the bag (uyúna) where the Jibaro Indian keeps other charms, the sticks

for drilling fire, etc. This kind of red paint is called muspa in the Jibaro language. The Indian, when he is about to pay a visit in a strange house, paints his face with it in a special way, especially round the eyes, and the painting is supposed to exert an irresistible influence upon a woman. The women 'becomes mad', starts to dance and sing, and will easily follow the man. The Jibaro Indian makes use of this charm, not so much to attract a girl whom he wants to marry, but more frequently to seduce married women in the house they are visiting. The muspa, or leaves of the simaika, are however used not only by men, but also by women who want to attract [215] a man, being thus a means by which both sexes mutually excite each other's erotic passions. It is impossible to say for what reasons the apparently harmless plant in question is so universally regarded as a love charm by both Indians and mestizos. The Canelos Indians, who use it much in the same way as the Jibaros, explained to me that the mere touching of the plant with the hands will instantly awaken in them longing for a woman.

There are other plants which are said to have similar erotic effects. Thus among the numerous plants which are called by the common name piripiri, and all of which are used for special magical purposes, there is one called noa piripiri ('the women's piripiri') which is used as a love charm much in the same way as the simaika. A leaf of the plant is mixed into some food--for instance a dish with mashed manioc--which the woman has to eat, and it will have the effect of arousing in her love for the man."

1: Karsten--215 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 832, 302, 825 (1928-29)

"Other love charms are obtained from the animal kingdom and some of these even have the character of aphrodisiaca. Animals such as the nose-bear, the dolphin (apúpa), the caiman (kanyátsa), and the water boa (pangi) in this respect play a part in the superstition of the Indians. Thus for instance, from the penis of the nose-bear, which is bony, they scrape off a little powder and mix it into a drink or food which the woman has to eat or drink; this is believed to excite her erotic feelings so that it is easy for a man to seduce her. In the same way the CANELOS INDIANS use the penis of the caiman: they mix a little powder, scraped from it, into a gourd of brandy and drink it with a view to enhancing their own sexual potency. The water boa again, of which so many superstitious ideas are held, also yields a kind of love charm. When the Indians have killed an anaconda they take out its eyes and dry them in the sun whereupon they pulverize them and mix them with roucou, just as is done with the dried leaves of the simaika plant. The red painting thus obtained, when applied to the face and especially round the eyes, is believed to have an irresistible influence upon women. As to the dolphin, the Canelos Indians are in the habit of skinning the penis of the animal and preparing the skin as an armlet. When a man embraces a girl with this arm, she will fall in love with him. Since the bracelet is coloured red with roucou it cannot be distinguished from the natural colour of the skin of his arm. The grease of the dolphin is by the same Indians used as an aphrodisiacum. Adipe delphini penem ante coitum ungent, sic in muliere voluptatem maxime augeri putant."

I: Karsten--247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576, 609, 302, 152 (1928-29)

"It is easy to see that behind the strict Indian 'etiquette' and the apparent courtesy there is a good deal of the suspiciousness and distrust which these savages generally entertain towards one another. An Indian, seemingly coming as a friend, may in reality be a foe plotting evil; above all his bewitching secret 'arrows' are feared. He may for instance look upon women and children with an evil eye and thus make them fall ill and die. I have already mentioned that witchery is sometimes carried out through the facial painting which the Indian always applies before entering a strange house. Facial painting may serve different ends. Since it is considered to give the body strength, it is regarded as indispensable for every Indian marching in the forest or engaged in any kind of work, and it is therefore looked upon as perfectly natural that a visiting Indian should have a painted face. But nobody can know what kind of face-painting it is; it may be, for instance, the particular kind which acts as a love charm, in which case the visitor may have the seduction of the women in view; Indian custom therefore requires that when the hostess offers the clay dish of manioc-beer to the guest she immediately turns her back to him. At any rate she does so when her husband is present, since the Jibaro men jealously watch their wives at such times."

1: Karsten--280 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 628, 302, 276, (1928-29)

"The conspirators prepare for the assault first by performing that war dance or exercise with the lance which is called Enéma or Anékma (in Quichua Tungúni), and which will be described in connection with the real wars. The Enéma takes place every night during the last week before the attack is made. The warriors drink much manioc-beer to get strength and smoke much tobacco, partly to acquire strength and resistance, partly to ward off evil supernatural influences. On the eve of the day of making the attack they paint their face, breast, arms, and legs black with genipa (in Jibaro called sua, in Quichua huituc)."

1: Karsten--296 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
302, 826 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros the men as a rule wear their hair much longer than the women, and tsantsas [JKM: head trophies] with hair half a metre or more long are therefore not uncommon. The hair, according to the idea of the Indians, is the seat of the soul or the vital power."

1: Karsten--310 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
302, 413 (1928-29)

"At the painting of the slayer's body with genipa the Jibaros formerly used a special instrument consisting of a cylindrical object, made of a special kind of very hard clay, into which certain circular ornaments were incised. The instrument was dipped into the genipa-solution and rolled along the cheeks, arms, legs, and body, of the slayer, the ornaments incised in the instrument being thereby stamped upon his body. This instrument, which is called payánga, is still known, but it is no longer made of clay but of a kind of wood."

1: Karsten--421 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
302 (1928-29)

"The Indians frequently have recourse to body-painting as a prophylactic. That even snake-bite is sometimes cured by magical body-painting is shown by the following instance. An Indian on the Upano was bitten by a comparatively harmless snake. He soon recovered, but for several days afterwards wandered about with black snake-like rings painted round the thighs and the body with genipa. These rings according to his own explanation represented the snake that had bitten him, and were believed to neutralize the harmful effects of the bite."

"Besides the dress and all those fixed or detachable ornaments to which the Indians pay so much attention, there is another ornamental arrangement which likewise is chiefly of a magical or religious character, namely the facial and body-painting. It is only in exceptional cases that body-painting has--from our point of view--a practical aim. Thus my Indian baggage bearers frequently used, before starting for a journey, to paint the nether part of their back with genipa so as to give the skin more resistance. The juice obtained from the genipa tree (Genipa americana) is very astringent and causes the skin to contract as if it were curried. For the same reason the Indians also are in the habit of painting their face with genipa before canoeing, since it affords some protection against the rays of the sun. But in all other cases both the black painting with genipa and the red painting with roucou has a purely magical significance.

There are four kinds of red painting, but the chief ingredient is always the roucou (Bixa orellana). Very frequently the Indian paints himself only with pure roucou (ipyáku), i. e., with the seeds directly taken from the shrub and mashed. Another kind of red paint is the muspa mentioned before (p. 214) in connection with the magical plant simaika which forms [428] its chief ingredient. A third red paint is called karawira and prepared in the following way. The leaves of a certain plant called tai are dried, pulverized, and mixed with the seeds of the roucou. The mass is passed through a sieve consisting of a piece of linen, the juice or essence of it is collected in a small

clay pot, and the pot placed on a fire where the liquid is allowed slowly to dry up. The powder left in the pot is further dried in the sun and then put into a small gourd, which the Indians generally keep in the bag called uyúna.--The fourth and last red paint is the one called áratinyu and consists of mashed roucou seeds mixed with the oil obtained from the oil-bird tayu (Steatornis).

The Indians seem to use these four kinds of red paint indiscriminately, although in certain cases pure roucou (ipyáku) is preferred.

The fundamental idea underlying the custom of painting the face and the body is the same as that of the majority of other ornaments, namely, that it gives the body strength and affords an efficacious protection against disease and witchcraft and evil influences in general. Thus among the Canelos Indians facial painting, whilst having nearly always a magical or mysterious significance, is applied for various particular purposes. It is believed to protect the Indian against disease, for instance against the 'evil wind', huaira ungüi, that is, the illnesses which according to the idea of the Indians is carried about by certain winds. It is regarded as a powerful charm against witchcraft in general and especially against the evil eye, just as on the other hand it may act as a love charm which makes the Indian capable of seducing women. Further, as we have seen, the Canelos Indians regard the red painting as a hunting charm; it attracts the game and gives good luck in hunting. Hence, before the men start for a hunting

expedition, their wives always paint them red in the face with roucou; otherwise, it is believed, they would not be able to kill any game. Even the hunting dogs are profusely coated on the back with crude roucou before starting. The savage Jibaros, although they do not regard facial painting particularly as a hunting charm, still in the main have the same ideas about its wonderful power of strengthening the body. When the Indian is in a state of taboo and is consequently forbidden to wear the ordinary dress and ornaments, to tie up his hair, etc., he is also forbidden to paint his face, and looks pale and sick. For religious dances and feasts, on the other hand, the Indians never omit to paint their face with care, enhancing thereby the natural magical power of their body. The medicine-men and sorcerers especially, when exercising their art, are always, for the same reason, painted black or [429] red in the face. Sometimes the cheeks and other parts of the face are simply coated red or blackened, but more frequently special ornaments are applied. The latter will be dealt with in the chapter on Indian art.

I may add in this connection that the Jibaros are also in the habit of blackening their teeth by using the leaves of two plants. The one is calle piu and grows wild, the other, which is a cultivated vine, is called nashúmbi. I have not received positive information as to the ideas underlying this custom.

We have seen that the black painting applied with genipa for a war has likewise a

magical significance. The Indians fancy that they acquire the strength and ferocity of the demons (iguanchi) by blackening their body and face for the demons, too, appear blackened in this way. Again, when the warrior returns from the battle after having slain an enemy, he again paints his body black, the painting then being regarded as a protection against the slain enemy."

"I further wish to draw attention to the Indian shields depicted on Plate XXV, 1, and 2. The first one, covered with all sorts of ornaments on the outside, is a unique piece of art, being a kind of shield which was used formerly and is nowadays encountered nowhere. In addition to the big snake-like rings, there are particularly two patterns which dominate: the pattern representing a human spirit on p. 494 (Fig. 20, f), and the small concentric circles with a point in the middle just described by me, and which in this case represent the giant serpent (pangi). The pangi may, in general, be said to be the special 'symbol' of the Jibaro warrior. When he goes out on a war expedition he also paints the characteristic black spots of the reptile on his face, and at the great victory-feast the same ornaments are stamped on his whole body and his arms by means of the instrument called payánga. Armed with a shield which is ornamented in the way described, the Jibaro warrior is believed to have terrible power and his mere appearance will inspire the enemy with fear.

The ornamental painting of the face and of the body has a similar magical significance, as ought to have appeared from previous state-[495]ments. In Fig. 18, a-d and in Fig. 19, a-e, we see all the different 'geometrical' ornaments with which the Jibaros are in the habit of painting the face. All of them, according to the Indians, denote snakes. Similarly in Fig, 20 all, except the figure of the jaguar (a), occur in the ornamental art. As to figures of human spirits (d, e, and f), the Indians not only apply them to the face,

to clay vessels, and to other belongings, but also to objects of nature. The only rock-engravings I came across during my travels in Western Amazonas were five human spirits engraved on a high barranca at the middle Rio Bobonaza. They had been done there by Indians from Canelos shortly before I went down the river in 1917, and my Indians were also able to tell me their history. A few years previously two hostile parties of rubber collectors had met at this very place in the river and engaged in a battle for the sake of the caoutchouc and their peons, and in that battle five of the men had been killed. The incident had made a deep impression upon the Indians who fancied that the spirits of the dead rubber collectors haunted the place. This was the reason why they had engraved figures of their spirits on the high rocky barranca. They evidently had the idea that in this way the dreaded ghosts could be kept at bay."

2: Stirling--96 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 302, 574

"The writer had numerous experiences of this sort and, as a typical example, a visit to the jivaría of the curaka, Caneros, on the upper Yaupe River is here related. Our party, with 60 Jivaros from the Upano, after breaking a trail across the intervening mountain range, arrived within a quarter of a mile of the clearing surrounding the jivaría of Caneros. Early in the day a messenger had been sent in advance to announce our coming. Upon reaching this point, all of our Indians gathered in a group before entering the clearing. Here they engaged in a great deal of conversation, bathed themselves in a small stream, carefully combed their hair and painted faces. They took out from their bags all of the personal adornments which they had carried with them; feather headdresses, ear tubes, necklaces, etc. When ready, the entire party proceeded in close formation to file quietly through the clearing and into the jivaría.

Caneros, who had been expecting us, was seated on his official stool in the middle of the house facing the door by which we entered. He was rather a young man, tall, well muscled, and fine looking. He sat very straight and did not move or say a word as our men filed in and seated themselves in rows along the walls on each side of the door. By his side sat a man stained entirely black with sua and wearing a monkey fur headdress. This visitation was more than an ordinary event, as with our 60 carriers were four curakas from the Upano: Utita, Tuki, Tsamagashi, and Ambusha."

"While our men were getting themselves quietly seated there was great activity in the women's end of the house, where the wives of Caneros' household were preparing the nijimanche. Lining the walls in the middle of the house were seated Caneros' men, all with their faces and bodies elaborately painted with achiote and sua. The women of the house too were dressed in their best, with woven colored hair fillets decorated with red and yellow toucan feathers.[97] Most of them had their arms painted with achiote or sua in various geometric patterns. We noticed that the women affected a different style of face painting than that of the men. The females used light, narrow, parallel lines with dots, usually smeared on without much care.

Finally, Caneros' head wife approached him, apparently to tell him that all was ready, whereupon Caneros gave a short command to the women and they carried five huge earthenware jars filled with nijimanche and placed them in a row about 12 feet in front of the door. This having been done, Caneros spoke again and each of our four curakas sent a man to drink, whereupon with earthenware bowls and calabashes our men came up to the jars and began to drink in an orderly and quiet way, never crowding around the jars, until all had drunk heartily and the jars were empty. Our visiting curakas were among the last to drink. The women then refilled two of the jars and the drinking continued. During all of this time no word was spoken. Five minutes or more of silence followed and then Caneros arose and, beginning at the left, asked each of our men individually if he were satisfied, the visitor answering 'Ayu!' (Good!). When he had finished the round, he re-

turned to his seat.

As though this were a signal, the men began to talk, and a babble of conversation started which lasted until after midnight. Caneros' men moved around talking to our party, but all of our men retained their seats along the wall near the entrance. Later in the evening the women served them with food, consisting of boiled and roasted manioc."

2: Stirling--99[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 302

"Young men spend a great deal of time and care on their hair, which is frequently washed, combed, and trimmed. The hair is cut low on the forehead, forming a straight line above the eyes (pl. 4, b, c). It is allowed to grow somewhat longer over the temples where it hangs down on the cheek about on a level with the tip of the nose and the ear lobe. The rest of the hair is allowed to grow long, sometimes hanging to the waist. Women generally allow the hair to hang free, although sometimes a woven fillet is worn about the head (pl. 17, c). The men, however, have various methods of doing up their hair. The usual method is to gather it together at the base of the skull where it is wrapped with a narrow woven cotton band called 'eztma' about 2 feet in length, which is decorated at either end with tufts of red and yellow toucan feathers. Sometimes the hair thus gathered is allowed to hang down the back (pl. 5, a, c), but generally it is wrapped around the head (pl. 5, b, d). The hair hanging over the cheeks is frequently wrapped and allowed to hang in the form of two small pigtails (pls. 4, a; 7, d)."

2: Stirling--99-100 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 302

"When traveling or when engaged in ceremonies, both men and women paint the face and occasionally the arms and shoulders with the oily red pigment from the seed of Bixa orellana, called achiote [100] (fig. 5). The juice of Genipa americana, called sua by the Jivaros, is also used as a black stain in decorating the face and body. When achiote is fresh it is rather bright red in color but when somewhat old it turns to a reddish brown. Sua is colorless when put on but in about an hour it becomes dark blue in color and after about 8 hours turns almost black. Men frequently smear the face red all over with fresh achiote and on top of that paint the designs in brown achiote. Sua stays on the skin for about 6 days. After 4 days it again turns blue and then begins gradually to wear off. As a rule the face designs on men are painted in heavy, coarse lines while those on the faces of women are drawn in fine, narrow lines."

4: Up de Graff--195 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 302, 141, 482

"Passing on to the women of the tribe, there are a few outstanding characteristics to be noted. Their hair is not allowed to grow much below the shoulders, in direct opposition to our own more modern practice. They stand about 5 feet 3 inches on an average, are well-built and strong, move with the grace of a jaguar (I select this animal as being a native of the same woods), and are as much at home in the water as on the land. They do all the packing when the family is on the move, being capable of lifting 100 lbs. to their shoulders and moving through the forest with perfect ease."

12: Rivet--360 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 302, 386

The Jíbaros like to paint the uncovered parts of their body (face, breast, arms and legs), perhaps in red with the seeds of the manduru (Bixa orellana), or in bluish black with the fruit of a tree called zula or piú-piú (Genipa oblongifolia) (1). Most often, the face paintings assume the form of transverse rays frequently augmented with indentations, and they are red and black indifferently. Those on the breast and stomach are generally black and are made up of squares or simple designs; but sometimes on the breast one find a transverse line from which are detached some ornaments, the arrangement of which, difficult to visualize, is obtained in the following manner: the design is deeply engraved upon a wooden cylinder, about 6 centimeters long and 1 centimeter to 1-1/2 thick. The crevices are filled in with color given consistency by the addition of bird fat. Thus prepared, the cylinder is rolled on the body, pressing it down very hard with the hand, and it imprints the ornaments on the body. The designs made with the zula juice become black little by little on contact with the air, without doubt by slow oxidation; they last 8 to 10 days and even resist energetic cleanings. The designs made with munduru, on the contrary, are effaced quickly and have to be constantly renewed (2). The savage attaches a great importance to this style. He also paints his teeth with zula.

1. By crushing the pulp of this fruit in warm water, one obtains a thick liquid, which, it appears, dyes white hair perfectly black. Cordero, op. cit. page 32.

2. Reiss, op. cit., page 332.

12: Rivet--360-361 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 302

The hair is worn long. According to Reiss, this custom was for the purpose of permitting the victor to grasp the head of his victim easily in order to separate it from its trunk; in that case, this hair-dress should be characteristic of the free man, and the women, children and the few prisoners spared should have the head shaved (1). This seems rational [361] among a tribe of warriors, but in Canelos, Macas, Gualaquiza, and Zamora, the women and children wear their hair long. The custom observed by Reiss therefore should not be made the basis for a generalization. The coiffure, always very well cared-for, is made up of three very, very tight plaits: one posterior plait or huango (a Quichua word), and two side plaits the thickness of a finger, which, beginning at the temples, descend the length of the cheeks, framing the face and falling on the breast. The hair on the forehead is cut straight a finger's breadth above the eyebrows. Sometimes one part of hair is twisted around the head in the form of a crown.

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1. Reiss, op. cit., page 335.

12: Rivet -363 [2] (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 291, 302

The clothing of the women is not very different. It is composed of one approximately square piece of cotton, $1^{m}60$ on the side, analogous to the itipi and called tarachi. The middle of one of the sides passes under the left arm and the two extremities are fastened on the right shoulder with the aid of a big pin called tupo (a Quichua word). The ends of this square overlap along the right side of the body, thanks to a band wound around the waist. The garment descends half way down the calf. The two arms and the left shoulder are bare, while the right shoulder and the breasts are covered. Nursing infants are carried either at the breast or on the back, under the tarachi. The coiffure does not differ from that of the men, except that sometimes, instead of forming a back plait, the women let their hair fall on their shoulders.

12: Rivet--600 -601 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 515, 302, 264

The hygenic operation finished [KS: morning infusion of guayusa], everyone washes, for the Jíbaro is clean, contrary to his brother of the sierra. As soon as he returns from the neighboring river, he makes his toilette in the house itself; he has the custom of putting water in his mouth, from which he spits it into his hands in order to wash his face and wet his hair; then he combs it carefully, for he likes to have his hair well-arranged and shiny. Then, while the women are preparing breakfast, he sets to work, either at the weaving of a garment, or the manufacture of his ornaments or his arms. At the end of about an hour the repast is ready: there are abundant piningas of chicha, some manioc and boiled bananas, and a piece of wild pig or of fish. After having [601] refreshed himself sufficiently, the Jíbaro paints his body and his teeth, puts on his customary ornaments, takes his lance, his blowgun or his gun, his little net, unties his dogs and for 4 1/2 or 5 hours in the morning hunts or goes to visit his friends in the neighborhood, during which time the women take their wicker back-baskets and armed with a little machete or a knife cultivate the surrounding land.

At 6 o'clock in the evening the Indian has always returned; one never meets him at night, normally. As soon as he gets back, his wives come in turn to present him with a bowl of chicha, which they stir with their hands before offering, and while the master drinks, they turn their heads, either because of respect, or out of habit.

18: Hermessen--440-442 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 302

"Their faces [KS: the women's] were not painted as the men's, but some of them had an ornament consisting of a bit of stick, of the size of a match, projecting horizontally from a hole made in the underlip. (17) The women were very [442] small in stature and physically not prepossessing. Their hair was dirty, dishevelled, and neglected, and, but for a circlet of tape, unadorned. They wore rude necklaces, armlets, and bracelets of berries, nuts seeds and shells, and the skulls and beaks of small birds, strung on fiber thread."

"17. A. Hamilton Rice: The River Uaupés, Geogr. Journ., Vol 35, 1910, pp. 682-700; reference on p. 695; Whiffen, op. cit., p. 86."

24: Wright--237 (1938) 1942 Jivaro
302, 824

"A persistent custom among most of the individuals [KS: in comparative study of teeth] is the chewing of the 'nashumbi' berry, identified botanically as Manettia coccinia, which produces a brownish lacquer-like coating over the teeth. It is not known if this inhibits tooth decay or not."

25: Vigna--42-43 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 302

The man paints his face with bright colors derived from the achiote or the "sula" (seed of a tree with coloring properties of a brilliant black). They pound the green "sula", and using it with water, paint their hair which is straight and thick. One never sees Jíbaros [43] with hair that is not an intense and brilliant black. This dressing of the hair, which is a general routine for all the family on the day established, is repeated one or two times a year.

25: Vigna--43 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 562, 302, 152

The Jîbaro woman does not paint her face, except on rare occasions and in a grotesque form. This is not done in an artistic manner as in the case of the man for whom the color, besides having an esthetic value, is a means of warding off witchcraft. The Jîbaro woman ordinarily does not care for her person, but goes about disheveled and slovenly. She pierces her lower lip and introduces into it a small reed. In general, the Jîbaro woman is very sullen and more savage than the man. Her laugh is very loud and uncontrolled (sonora y desmañada).

26: Brüning--56-57 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 302

Men and women wear their hair long and let it come down over the shoulders. In front they cut it off straight at the height of the eyes so that it would not interfere with the vision. The women seem to be satisfied with that, while the men bestow great attention to their hair. Aside from the fact that they [57] wash it frequently, they also dye it from time to time. Every moment they comb their hair. To have it handy at all times, they even leave the comb in the hair, which is frequently the case with the female inhabitants (regardless of race or social status) of the coastal areas. As a rule the hairdo of the men is distinguished from that of the women, aside from the greater care taken, by the fact that they have two strands of hair, one on each side, hanging over their faces. These strands are formed by winding sewing thread around part of the hair. These frontal strands are of varying length, but always shorter than the hair that falls down the shoulders. These strands are called akáhít in the Aguaruna language. (Cp. Illustrations 4 & 5)

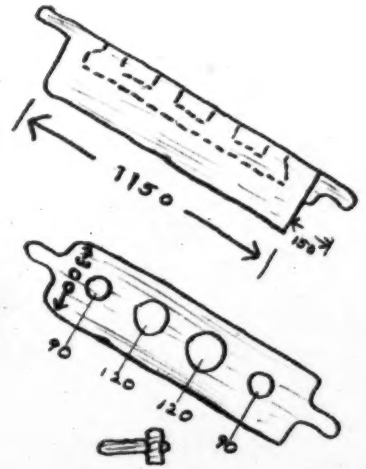

Figure 4. Rollers Used for Body-Painting.

26: Brüning--57 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 302

Both sexes dye their teeth black. For this they use two methods. Most frequently they rub their teeth with a small berry whic is the fruit of the yanamúk plant, a low, herbaceous, densely growing plant. Or they use the leaf of a plant which they call piú. First they chew these leaves, then they rub their teeth with it. Either procedure keeps the teeth black for more than one week.

Both sexes paint their faces, necks, arms, and chests. I have also seen paintings on the stomachs of men. Here again, the women use far less time and care in this respect. The most frequent mode of painting that can be found in men and women alike is the blackening of the hands, the neck, the shoulders, and the upper portion of the chest and back. If I understood it correctly, then this coloring is said to serve a practical purpose: to repel gnats and mosquitos. The coloring is done with the juice of a fruit which the Aguaruna language calls Súa (the whites call it huíto - Genipa oblongifolia is the botanical term). I had an opportunity to watch one of our crewmen preparing the juice: the fruit has the size and shape of a goose egg. The fruit is first skinned, then it is well chewed, piece by piece. The chewed mass was then spit upon a small quantity of wool taken from the balsa tree (Ochroma piscatoria ?). The wool is placed on a broad fresh leaf. After the entire fruit is chewed, the mass is wrapped into the leaf and roasted for a while over glowing charcoal. The parts of the body are rubbed with the wool which is permeated by the juice. The paint is said to last for about 14 days. The súa juice is also used to make parallel lines of varying thickness around the arms and legs. To accomplish this, the Indians make use of small wooden rollers that have notches all around. The extent of the wood corresponds to the thickness of the lines, while the notches correspond to the space in between. These small rollers (Fig. 4) are wetted with the súa and then rolled over the body. In Aguaruna these rollers are called

súa-pain-tómate, which evidently means: wood for the application of súa or something of a similar nature. In the face, but chiefly on the chest and even on the upper part of the stomach, various lines and, occasionally, figures are drawn with the help of a piece of wood. (Cf. Illustration number 5, the Indian to the left.) One ornament which I have observed frequently is shown in Drawing number 5. From time to time the hair is also dyed with the help of súa.

Figure 5. Painting Pattern (on page 58)

26: Brüning--58 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 302, 415

Every day the face is painted with achiote (ipáko) which is made up into an ointment with the help of some fat. The patterns consist chiefly of round dots (diameter ca. 25 - 30 mm.) and wide, symmetrically arranged lines. Preferably they paint two spots in the cheek-bone region. But before the pattern is applied in bold strokes, the face is rubbed with dry achiote. The achiote ointment is stored in small bamboo containers.

28: Tessman--348 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 302, 415

On festive occasions and during war expeditions the men paint their faces with lines and dots, which gives them a truly devilish appearance. The red paint is preserved in small bamboo containers: the bamboo section is sealed off at the bottom, and a piece of fur is used as a stopper on top. They also paint with genipap. According to Reiß and Karsten the Chewaros use for bodypainting a wooden stamp (formerly a clay stamp) in which the pattern is engraved. They dip the stamp into the dye and roll it over the body.

116, 302

The teeth are stained black.

28: Tessman--348-349 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 302

The men wear their hair long. In the back it is braided into a pigtail, and there is a little pigtail at each temple. These little pigtails are called akaxik. The large pigtail is wound with a woven ribbon (called tsiimat or uakóhama). This ribbon has a length of from 33 to 85 cm., and it is patterned like the loincloth of the men. At both ends there are attached either toucan feathers and human hair or bird-skins hanging on pieces of bone that are decorated with seed-ornaments; the ribbon may also have other ornaments. The ribbon spirals around the pigtail in such a fashion that the ornaments come to lie on the back. The pigtail is often brought over the forehead. The women let their hair grow long without [349] braiding it. Soap is made out of a plant (?). Combs are made of small sticks, which are kept in place at the bottom by plaited work that is done in a pretty pattern. (See Plate 59, Fig. 3).

/331 cont./

291 extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /332/

294 These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such,
248 are made by the Jívaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed
386 the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the
236 value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time
302 to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very
531 vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which,
302 seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it
531 one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an
413 inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depres-
[386] sions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder
[237] is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which re-
302 quires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradu-
[531] ally becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and
[824] resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other
[386] hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and
[412] the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small
[422] piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his
301 wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women
304 usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced earlobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucun) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are preferably used.

/333 cont./

practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Because of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war reduced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention. That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is soundlessly tranversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/ is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadiness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
● 302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[129] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation. This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used, until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
[784] Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[264] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tamed, both for personal amusement and for trade to the western or frontier Jívaro to obtain steel machetes, axe-heads, firearms, and ammunition.

Technology and Crafts

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jívaro life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare foods and to cut hair, and it is used to fell even the largest tree, although the less common steel axe is preferred for this task when it is available.

Machetes are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa maćit* ("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was formerly obtained at Macas in exchange for one deer carcass; and the *kayens maćit* (Collins machete), of North American manufacture and preferred by the Jívaro because of its superior efficiency. The *hapa maćit* was introduced first, the Collins implement not reaching the Jívaro until about 1941. During the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads have also been introduced in significant numbers by means of a system of Jívaro trading partners. Such axes are still far less plentiful than machetes, but in great demand because of their superiority over machetes in felling trees. Iron adze blades, which were apparently introduced about the same time as machetes, are possessed by only a very few individuals, but are in demand for finishing canoes and stools. All the types of steel tools are mainly obtained by trade from the western or frontier Jívaro of the Río Upano Valley.

As machetes become worn through years of continual use

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3. Man taking time out from land clearing to play a flute (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

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/p. 90-c/

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4. Woman carrying gourd water container and a basket of freshly peeled sweet manioc roots (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

5. Woman chopping up sweet manioc prior to boiling it as the first step in making beer (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

6. Stirring the boiled manioc with a wooden paddle. This is done in conjunction with mastication to prepare the mash for fermentation (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

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8. Hunter returning home with a howler monkey which he shot with a blowgun (on his right shoulder) and poisoned darts (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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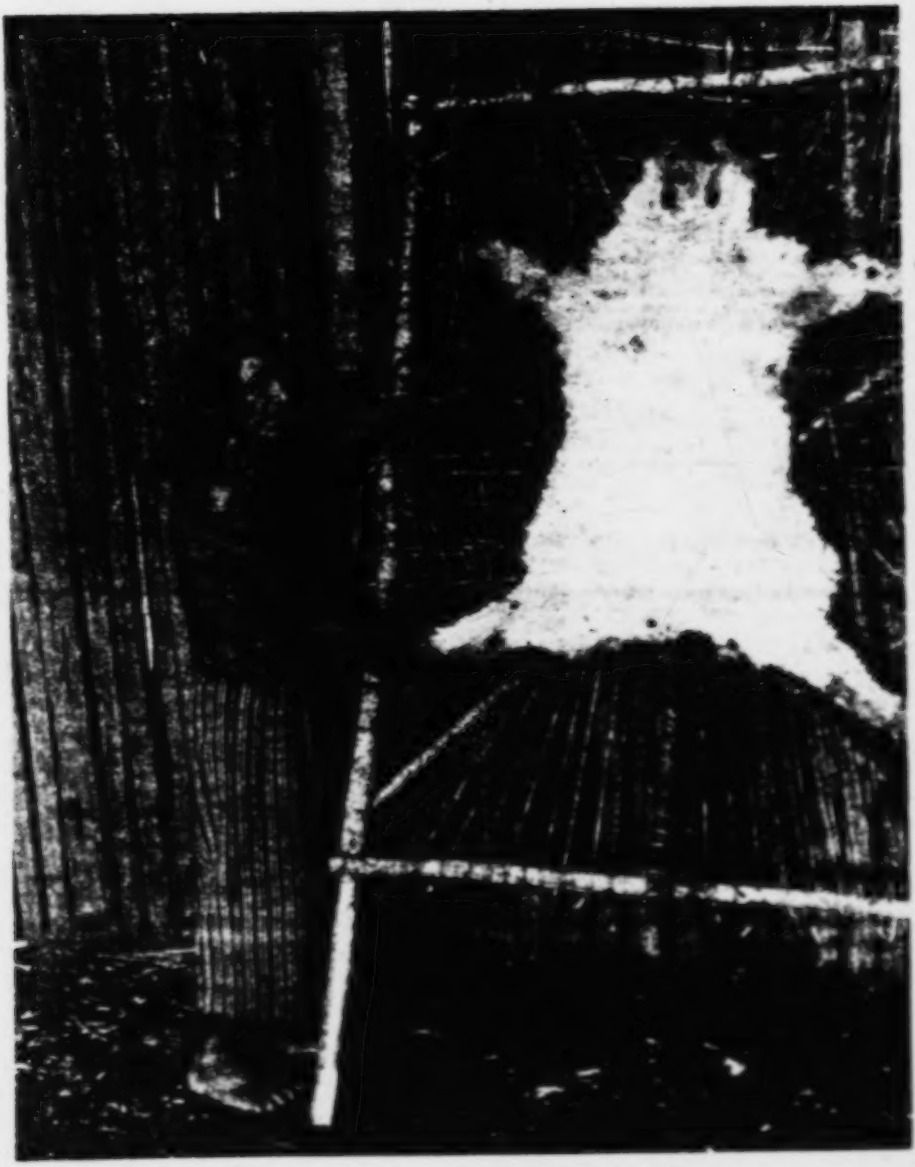

142 9. Jaguar skin being dried for trade to the frontier Jívaro
291 (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río
302 Cangaimi, 1956–57).
281 /p. 90-G/
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venting them from engaging in extramarital affairs is believed by the Jívaro to be proportional to their numbers. Of one man, who had a record six wives, an informant said, "He must have eyes in the back of his head." A jealous husband, when he leaves the house, sometimes lectures his wives not to engage in sexual relations with any men, saying that he will learn of it if they do. It is not uncommon for such a man to leave a son or daughter in the house to spy on their own mother and to inform him if she speaks to any men.

Extramarital affairs frequently result in the wife's leaving to live as the wife of her lover, which is viewed by the husband as "wife-stealing," one of the most serious Jívaro offenses and one for which the punitive sanction against the wife-taker is death, and against the woman the slashing of her scalp with a machete. To avoid retribution, the couple commonly flees to a distant neighborhood of the tribe, hopefully one which will be too distant for vengeance to be visited upon them. Such cases of wife-stealing and consequent fleeing are so common that they are one of the major reasons given for the wide geographic distribution of persons who are fairly close relatives.

The new couple usually justifies its action on the basis of romantic love, a concept which is strongly developed among the Jívaro. Young men frequently play love songs softly on musical bows at sunset and hope, thereby, magically to cause their sweethearts to think of them, no matter how distant they may be. Love potions are also used, and much of the featherwork, adornment and face painting worn by men is recognized to be designed, in part, to make them attractive to females. Girls and women typically exert less effort to glamorize their appearance, but do frequently wear "perfume bundles" of sweet-smelling seeds against their breasts.

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12. Man wearing an *etsemat* (woven cotton band with toucan feather tassels), the most common traditional head garb (Río Cangaimi, 1956-57).

11. Profile of the same individual.

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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14. Man with *etsemat* and ear sticks. His face painting, of achiote, is purely for beautification. The shirt was obtained through the native trading partnership system (Río Canguimi, 1956–57).

15. Profile of same individual, showing native comb holding his hair and *etsemat* in place.

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19. Man wearing hair unbound, as is often customary when at home in the absence of visitors (Río Cangaimi, 1956-57).

20. Profile of the same individual.

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